

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 107645 TOSEC 110659

EXDIS FOR COVEY FROM AHERNE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), OGEN

SUBJECT: CHIZUK AMUNO SPEECH, BALTIMORE, MAY 9, DRAFT
III

REFERENCE: SECTO 11294

1. FOLLOWING NEW DRAFT OF BALTIMORE SPEECH TAKES ACCOUNT
OF SECRETARY'S COMMENT REFTEL, AND GENERALLY IS AN IM-
PROVED VERSION. IT IS MEANT TO REPLACE DRAFT TRANSMITTED
IN TOSEC 110581.

2. BEGIN TEXT I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE HONOR YOU DO ME

TODAY -- PARTICULARLY BECAUSE, AFTER THE EVENTS OF THE

PAST FEW MONTHS I HAD COME TO BELIEVE THAT I WOULD NEVER

AGAIN RECEIVE AN AWARD FROM A "CONSERVATIVE" ORGANIZATION

(N.B., THE SYNAGOGUE IS ONE OF THE LARGEST CONSERVATIVE

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JEWISH CONGREGATIONS IN THE U.S.).

3. I MIGHT ADD THAT IT IS NICE TO GO TO AN AWARDS CEREMONY

WHERE ONE RECEIVES SOMETHING. A FEW WEEKS AGO THE FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT INVITED ME TO AN AWARDS CEREMONY. I MADE A FEW REMARKS AND THEN THEY STARTED TO HAND OUT THE YEAR'S AWARDS. A NUMBER OF RETIRED AMBASSADORS AND OTHER DIGNITARIES CAME FORWARD TO RECEIVE ONE OR ANOTHER COMMENDATION. BEFORE LONG THE CEREMONY WAS OVER, BUT MY NAME HAD NOT BEEN CALLED.

4. I FELT A LITTLE BIT LIKE THE BRIDE LEFT AT THE STEPS OF THE CHURCH. BUT I SUPPOSE I SHOULD NOT COMPLAIN TOO MUCH, SINCE AT LEAST THEY DID NOT PRESENT ME WITH A FAREWELL GIFT.

5. PERHAPS IT IS WORTH TAKING A FEW MOMENTS THIS EVENING, IN THE HEAT OF AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN WHICH BY ITS NATURE FOCUSES ON CONCRETE AND TACTICAL PROBLEMS RATHER THAN ON THE STRATEGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF FOREIGN POLICY, TO EXAMINE THE ELEMENTS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY -- ITS OBJECTIVES AND OPPORTUNITIES -- AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THAT POLICY AND OUR TIES WITH ISRAEL.

6. FROM THE EARLY DAYS OF OUR INDEPENDENCE OUR FOUNDING
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FATHERS BASED THEIR POLICIES -- AT HOME AND ABROAD -- ON A COMBINATION OF FAITH AND FORESIGHT WHICH OUR GENERATION MAY WELL ENVY.

7. THEY HAD FAITH IN THE FUTURE OF A FREE PEOPLE. AND THEY HAD THE FORESIGHT TO UNDERSTAND, AS EDMUND BURKE SAID, THAT "YOU CAN NEVER PLAN THE FUTURE BY THE PAST."

8. FAITH AND FORESIGHT ARE JUST AS MUCH A PART OF THE

PROCESS OF POLICYMAKING TODAY AS THEY WERE 200 YEARS AGO.

FAITH, BECAUSE WE ARE A NATION OF 240 MILLION AMERICAN
MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM
TRANSCENDS PARTISANSHIP AND ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL STATION.

9. FORESIGHT, BECAUSE WHILE WE MUST LEARN FROM THE PAST,
WE ARE NOT, AND MUST NOT BECOME, ITS PRISONER.

10. PERHAPS NOWHERE IN THE COMPLEX WEB OF RELATIONSHIPS
WE MAINTAIN WITH OTHER NATIONS ARE FAITH AND FORESIGHT SO
NECESSARY AS IN OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY -- AND IN OUR
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

11. INDEED THOSE QUALITIES HAVE CHARACTERIZED OUR
RELATIONSHIP -- ON BOTH SIDES -- SINCE THE FOUNDING OF
THE STATE OF ISRAEL. AND THEY WILL BE MORE NECESSARY

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THAN EVER AS WE CONTINUE, WITH DETERMINATION AND FIRMNESS,
ON THE ROAD TO A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FOR
WHAT LIES AHEAD IS ALMOST CERTAINLY GOING TO BE MORE DIFFI-
CULT -- AT THE SAME TIME THAT IT IS MORE URGENTLY NEEDED --
THAN THE STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN THUS FAR.

12. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO BEAR IN MIND THAT OUR RELATIONS
WITH ISRAEL ARE NOT IN ANY IMPORTANT RESPECT SEPARATED
FROM THE BROAD CONCEPT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. THAT POLICY
IS FOUNDED ON RECOGNITION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS
CERTAIN LONG-TERM, PERMANENT INTERESTS IN THE WORLD.

THESE ARE:

-- A COMMITMENT TO THE MORAL BASIS ON WHICH OUR REVOLUTION

WAS FOUNDED;

-- A STRONG DEFENSE;

-- A STABLE PEACE; AND

-- A PROSPEROUS WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER.

13. THE FOUR LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES

RELATE VERY DIRECTLY TO OUR CONCERN FOR THE SURVIVAL AND

WELLBEING OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

14. MORALITY AND FOREIGN POLICY (UNDERScoreD)

15. STEADFAST FIDELITY TO THE SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES OF
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OUR REVOLUTION IS A DEMANDING STANDARD, FOR, AS GLADSTONE

SAID, "THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WAS THE

GREATEST POLITICAL INSTRUMENT EVER STRUCK OFF ON A SINGLE

OCCASION BY THE MINDS OF MEN."

16. THE GENIUS OF AMERICA HAS ALWAYS BEEN ITS MORAL

SIGNIFICANCE IN THE WORLD. SINCE ITS BIRTH AMERICA HAS

HELD A PROMISE AND A DREAM TO WHICH OTHERS HAVE CLUNG,

AND SOMETIMES EMULATED.

17. BECAUSE OF THIS AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN MISSIONAR-

IES, IN A WAY; WE HAVE BEEN CHAMPIONS OF LIBERTY AND

PROGRESS FOR ALL MANKIND, AND WE HAVE KNOWN THAT, AND BEEN

MADE STRONG BY IT. WE HAVE BEEN THE BULWARK OF DEMOCRACY,

A REFUGE FOR THOSE FLEEING PERSECUTION, AND THE MOST

GENEROUS, MOST HUMANITARIAN NATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE

WORLD.

18. SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II GLOBAL PEACE AND

PROSPERITY HAVE DEPENDED TO AN EXTRAORDINARY DEGREE UPON
AMERICA. THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD AMERICA'S MIGHT HAS
ALWAYS BEEN USED TO DEFEND, NEVER TO OPPRESS. SO IT WILL BE
IN THE FUTURE.

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19. IN PART I BELIEVE IT IS THIS HERITAGE WHICH EXPLAINS
AMERICA'S STRONG COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL. THOSE WHO HAVE
SUFFERED FROM THE LACK OF MORALITY -- AS HAVE THE JEWISH
PEOPLE -- KNOW IN A SENSE WHICH OTHERS CAN ONLY IMAGINE
HOW NECESSARY THE MORAL BASIS FOR POLICY IS.

20. PEACE WITH JUSTICE HAS A SPECIAL MEANING FOR THOSE
WHO HAVE, THROUGH HISTORY, EXPERIENCED IT SO RARELY.

21. THOSE WHO HAVE HAD WRONG DONE TO THEM SO OFTEN KNOW
THAT TRUE PEACE CAN ONLY COME ABOUT AS A RESULT OF UN-
RELENTING ATTACHMENT TO WHAT IS RIGHT.

22. AMERICANS LOOK UPON ISRAEL AS A LOYAL FRIEND
COMMITTED, AS ARE WE, TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PARLIAMENTARY
DEMOCRACY. WE VALUE THE PART WE PLAYED IN CREATING THE
STATE OF ISRAEL. WE WILL NEVER FORGET THAT OUR MORAL
RESPONSIBILITY INCLUDES THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE
OF SMALLER NATIONS WHO RELY UPON US AS THE ULTIMATE
DEFENDER OF THEIR SURVIVAL AND FREEDOM, AND THAT ISRAEL'S
FATE IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE FUTURE OF HUMAN DIGNITY.

23. NOR WILL WE FORGET THAT THE TRUE TEST OF FRIENDSHIP --
ITS TRUE STRENGTH -- LIES IN THE FACT THAT ONLY FRIENDS
CAN DISCUSS CANDIDLY, EVEN AT TIMES HEATEDLY, MUTUAL
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PROBLEMS. WE WILL EXPECT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO
CONTINUE TELLING US WHEN WE ARE PURSUING POLICIES IT
BELIEVES TO BE IN ERROR OR HARMFUL TO ITS INTERESTS; WE
WILL NOT HESITATE TO BE EQUALLY FRANK WHEN WE DISAGREE
WITH THE COURSE ISRAEL IS PURSUING. SUCH EXCHANGES
CLARIFY -- IN A HEALTHY SENSE -- THE BASIC FACT THAT
ISRAELI AND AMERICAN INTERESTS ARE NOT EXACTLY AND UN-
FAILINGLY THE SAME. SUCH EXCHANGES WILL ALSO INCREASE THE
CHANCES FOR LASTING PEACE, SO LONG AS BOTH COUNTRIES
RECOGNIZE THAT THE EXCHANGES ARE PROMPTED BY MUTUAL FRIEND-
SHIP AND COMMON INTEREST. I AM REMINDED OF THE TIME,
DURING THE UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERATION OF THE PALESTINE
QUESTION OVER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN A U.S. DIPLOMAT
EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT, "THE DAY WILL COME WHEN THE JEWS
AND ARABS IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL LIVE TOGETHER IN THE TRUE
SPIRIT OF CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD." WHILE WE MAY WONDER AT
THE CLARITY OF THOUGHT THAT LAY BEHIND THE HOPE, WE
CANNOT QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THE UNDERLYING INTENTION.

24. SO WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT THAT BECAUSE OUR NATIONAL
INTERESTS ARE SO CLOSELY LINKED, OUR PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT IS
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BEST FOR EACH OF US WILL ALWAYS COINCIDE. THE FUNDAMENTAL
STRENGTH OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL AND OF ITS SURVIVAL
IS MORAL. BUT OUR POLICIES TOWARD ISRAEL AND THE OTHER
NATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST, WHILE DERIVING FROM A MORAL

BASE, MUST INCLUDE A HEALTHY ELEMENT OF PRAGMATISM AND REALISM IF LASTING PEACE IS EVER TO BE ACHIEVED IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IF ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES -- BECAUSE WE ARE MATURE AND SENSIBLE PEOPLES -- UNDERSTAND THAT WE WILL, AS ALL OLD FRIENDS DO, HAVE DIFFERENCES, THEN THE DEBATE OVER THOSE DIFFERENCES WILL BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND CLEANSING. BUT IF WE PARALYZE OURSELVES WITH SUSPICIONS, WE WILL DEPRIVE OUR RELATIONSHIP OF DIGNITY, AND OUR COOPERATION OF SIGNIFICANCE -- AND WE WILL ALL BE THE LOSERS.

25. A STRONG DEFENSE (UNDERScoreD)

26. IF THE VALUES WHICH WE AND ISRAEL SHARE ARE TO BE PRESERVED THEN AMERICAN STRATEGIC FORCES MUST BE SUFFICIENT TO DETER ATTACK AND MAINTAIN THE NUCLEAR BALANCE. OUR FORCES FOR REGIONAL DEFENSE, TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES, MUST BE CAPABLE OF RESISTING THREAT AND PRESSURE.

27. THE CURRENT DEBATE THUS FAR IN THIS ELECTION YEAR
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INDICATES WIDE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE. THIS YEAR'S DEFENSE BUDGET WILL ALLOW US TO CONTINUE TO IMPROVE OUR MILITARY FORCES -- DEPLOYING MULTIPLE WARHEADS, IMPROVING MISSILE ACCURACY, MOVING FORWARD WITH NEW STRATEGIC BOMBERS AND SUBMARINES, - EXPANDING OUR ARMY FROM 13 TO 16 DIVISIONS, EXPANDING OUR NAVAL CONSTRUCTION -- TO INSURE THAT NO OTHER NATION CAN THREATEN US OR OUR INTERESTS.

28. THE UNITED STATES WILL ALSO KEEP ISRAEL STRONG
ENOUGH TO DEFEND ITSELF -- TO ENSURE THAT PEACE IS SEEN
CLEARLY TO BE THE ONLY FEASIBLE COURSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
WE WILL NEVER ABANDON ISRAEL. WE WILL NOT FAIL TO PROVIDE
THE ASSISTANCE ISRAEL MUST HAVE TO MAINTAIN ITS INDEPEND-
ENCE. WE WILL NOT, BY IRRESOLUTION, FAIL TO MEET OUR OWN
RESPONSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER
WHEN IT IS CHALLENGED.

29. RECENTLY AMERICAN AID TO ISRAEL HAS ACCELERATED FROM
A TOTAL OF 473 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1973 TO A PROJECTED
2.3 BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR -- A
FIVE FOLD INCREASE IN THREE YEARS. U.S. ASSISTANCE TO
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ISRAEL HAS TOTALLED MORE THAN SIX BILLION DOLLARS SINCE
1948. ISRAEL NOW RECEIVES ABOUT A THIRD OF OUR TOTAL
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. THIS IS A CONVINCING DEMONSTRATION
OF THE BREADTH AND DEPTH OF AMERICA'S DEDICATION TO THE
IDEAL OF A FREE, INDEPENDENT AND SECURE ISRAEL.

30. THERE IS PRECEDENT FOR THE PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH
WHICH WE SEEK. FROM WATERLOO TO SARAJEVO AMERICA
BENEFITTED FROM THE EXISTENCE OF A WORLD BALANCE OF
POWER WHICH MAINTAINED GLOBAL STABILITY AND PREVENTED
INTERNATIONAL WAR. THAT RESPONSIBILITY NOW RESTS, IN
LARGE MEASURE, WITH US. IT IS A RESPONSIBILITY WE SHALL
NOT SHIRK; IT IS A RESPONSIBILITY THAT A STRONG, CONFIDENT
AND SECURE ISRAEL CAN SHARE AS WE WORK TOGETHER TO BRING

PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

31. TO MAINTAIN A STABLE PEACE (UNDERScoreD)

32. PEACE IS NEVER AUTOMATIC. TO BE DURABLE IT MUST GO

FAR BEYOND THE MERE ABSENCE OF WAR. PEACE CLEARLY RESTS,

FIRST AND FOREMOST, UPON THE MAINTENANCE OF A GLOBAL

BALANCE OF POWER. THERE CAN BE NO SECURITY WITHOUT THIS

EQUILIBRIUM, AND NO SAFETY WITHOUT RESTRAINT. ONLY WHEN

THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS ARE RESPECTED, WHEN ACCOMMODATION
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SUPPLANTS FORCE, CAN MANKIND'S ENERGIES BE DEVOTED TO THE

REALIZATION OF ITS HIGHER ASPIRATIONS.

33. THE STORY OF DAVID AND GOLIATH ILLUSTRATES THAT NAKED

POWER IS NEVER SUFFICIENT TO SAFEGUARD OUR VALUES AND OUR

INTERESTS. PEACE DEPENDS, RATHER, ON THE SKILL WITH WHICH

WE EMPLOY OUR POWER. WE MUST CORRECTLY PERCEIVE WHERE OUR

TRUE NATIONAL INTERESTS, AND THOSE OF OUR FRIENDS, LIE

AND BE READY AND WILLING TO DEFEND OR ADVANCE THOSE

INTERESTS WHEN THE OCCASION DEMANDS IT. TO DO THAT, WE

MUST, AMONG OTHER THINGS, BE UNITED AT HOME IN SUPPORT OF

OUR FOREIGN POLICY. WE MUST MOVE AWAY FROM THE SELF-

FLAGELLATION OF THE PAST FEW YEARS TO A NEW NATIONAL

CONSENSUS.

34. IN SHORT, WE MUST BOTH MAINTAIN THE BALANCE OF POWER

AND HAVE THE WILL, INTELLIGENCE AND RESOLVE TO USE OUR

POWER WISELY, AND WHEN NECESSARY. WE MUST LOOK TO THE

LONG-TERM FUTURE, AND CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR A SAFER

AND MORE DURABLE PATTERN OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. WE

MUST PROTECT OUR OWN SECURITY, AND THAT OF OUR ALLIES AND
FRIENDS, WITH VIGILANCE, AND BUILD HABITS OF RESTRAINS,
OF COMMUNICATION, AND OF COOPERATION. WE MUST WORK WITH
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REALISM AND WITH DEDICATION TO ENGAGE NATIONS OF DIFFERENT
IDEOLOGIES OR POLITICAL CONVICTIONS IN RECIPROCAL MEASURES
TO SLOW THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, TO RESOLVE POLITICAL PROB-
LEMS THROUGH NEGOTIATION, AND MUTUALLY TO EXPAND OUR
RELATIONS AS POLITICAL CONDITIONS WARRANT.

35. WE SHOULD HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THIS PROCESS; IT IS
MEANT TO SERVE, NOT TO SACRIFICE, OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS
AND VALUES. AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE
STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE
COMMUNIST POWERS IS VASTLY MORE BENEFICIAL TO US AND TO
GLOBAL PEACE AND PROGRESS TODAY THAN EVEN TEN YEARS AGO --
WHEN CRISES WERE MORE FREQUENT, WHEN COMMUNICATION WAS LESS
DEVELOPED, AND WHEN COOPERATION WAS ONLY BEGINNING. WE
CANNOT AFFORD TO RETURN TO THE ERA OF INTERMITTENT CON-
FRONTATION BETWEEN THE NUCLEAR POWERS, WITH EACH EPISODE
CARRYING THE RISK OF NUCLEAR CONFLAGRATION.

36. TO BUILD RESTRAINT INTO THE NUCLEAR RIVALRY, WE HAVE
SOUGHT AND ACHIEVED A SERIES OF ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS
WITH THE SOVIET UNION. TO PURSUE THE STRATEGIC ARMS
RACE -- THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE -- WOULD MEAN HIGHER COSTS,
HEIGHTENED TENSIONS AND THE DIVERSION OF EFFORT AWAY FROM
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OUR FORCES FOR REGIONAL DEFENSE, WHERE IMBALANCES COULD BE

TURNED RAPIDLY TO OUR DISADVANTAGE.

37. EVEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST, TIME AND EVENTS HAVE BROUGHT
US TO A NEW AND HOPEFUL THRESHOLD. TODAY WE HAVE BEFORE
US AN UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE TOWARD THE PEACE
OF WHICH WE ALL HAVE DREAMED -- A PEACE IN THE INTERESTS
OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF A REGION THAT HAS ALREADY EXPERI-
ENCED MORE THAN ENOUGH ANGUISH AND TRAGEDY.

-- SOME OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES ARE NOW AT LAST SPEAKING
OPENLY AND WISELY OF MAKING PEACE AND ENDING GENERATIONS
OF CONFLICT.

-- THE UNITED STATES HAS SHOWN ISRAEL AND (UNDERScoreD)
THE ARABS THAT IT IS WILLING -- EVEN DETERMINED -- AND ABLE
TO PROMOTE A JUST AND ENDURING SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT
WHICH HAS PLAGUED THE MIDDLE EAST FOR OVER A QUARTER OF A
CENTURY.

-- IF WE CONTINUE TO CONDUCT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE
MAJOR OUTSIDE POWERS WITH REASON AND FIRMNESS, WE CAN
MORE TOWARD A GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT OF RESTRAINT THAT WILL
ENHANCE THE POSSIBILITIES OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN THE
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MIDDLE EAST.

38. ISRAEL HAS SHOWN IN RECENT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS A GOOD
DEAL OF THE COURAGE FOR WHICH IT IS RENOWNED, AND THAT IN
TURN HAS MADE POSSIBLE CONCRETE STEPS TOWARD A PEACEFUL
RESOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. OBVIOUSLY, PRO-
FOUND PROBLEMS REMAIN. FOREMOST AMONG THESE IS THE FACT

THAT IN ANY FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH HER NEIGHBORS ISRAEL
WILL BE ASKED TO YIELD THE PHYSICAL BUFFERS OF TERRITORY IN
EXCHANGE FOR INTANGIBLE PLEDGES.

39. SO THE PROSPECT OF PEACE PRESENTS ISRAEL WITH MANY
INEVITABLE AND AGONIZING DECISIONS. ALL OF US WHO ARE
FRIENDS OF ISRAEL AND WHO ARE DEDICATED TO FURTHER PROGRESS
TOWARD PEACE SHARE THAT AGONY -- AT THE SAME TIME WE
RECOGNIZE ITS INEVITABILITY. THROUGHOUT THESE STEPS --
STEPS WHICH MUST BE TAKEN -- WE OWE ISRAEL OUR UNDERSTAND-
ING AND SOLIDARITY.

40. OUR CONFIDENCE THAT FUTURE PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE IS
BOLSTERED BY THE SUCCESSES OF THE PAST FEW YEARS. THE
UNITED STATES STILL IS THE ONLY PARTY WHICH HAS THE CONFI-
DENCE OF BOTH SIDES AND WHICH HAS FACILITATED THE MAJOR
STEPS TOWARD PEACE THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN. DIS-
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ENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATED BETWEEN ISRAEL
AND EGYPT AND ISRAEL AND SYRIA WHICH HAVE BEEN CARRIED
OUT BY ALL SIDES. THE SINAI AGREEMENT OF LAST SEPTEMBER
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT, THE STRONG FRIENDSHIPS WE NOW
HAVE WITH BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL, AND OUR RENEWED RELATIONS
WITH MANY ARAB NATIONS ARE THE GROUNDWORK FOR FURTHER
STEPS, WHICH ARE NOW MORE URGENT AND MORE POSSIBLE THAN
EVER BEFORE. MUCH WORK AND MANY DANGERS -- MOST
IMMEDIATELY THE SITUATION IN LEBANON -- REMAIN, BUT THE
PEACE PROCESS HAS COME FURTHER THAN ALL BUT A VERY FEW

DARED HOPE.

41. A PROSPEROUS WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER (UNDERScoreD)

42. A DOMINANT ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FOR THE
NEXT GENERATION WILL BE THE ECONOMIC DIVISION ON OUR
PLANET BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH -- INDUSTRIAL AND
DEVELOPING -- WHICH HAS BECOME AS PRESSING AN ISSUE AS
THE DIVISION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

43. PEACE WOULD BE A FRAGILE THING, INDEED, IN A WORLD OF
ECONOMIC STAGNATION OR FRUSTRATION. AN ERA OF RESENTMENT
AND ECONOMIC WARFARE BETWEEN THE NATIONS OF NORTH AND
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SOUTH, RICH AND POOR, WOULD BE NOTHING LESS THAN A
FORMULA FOR INSTABILITY. IN THE LAST FEW YEARS THE WORLD
COMMUNITY HAS BEEN REMINDED DRAMATICALLY BY THE OIL
EMBARGO AND ENSUING GLOBAL RECESSION OF THE EXTENT TO
WHICH ECONOMIC RELATIONS ARE AN ESSENTIAL FOUNDATION OF
THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. THEREFORE, AS WE MUST SEEK TO
MOVE BEYOND A BALANCE OF POWER IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, SO
MUST WE TRANSCEND TESTS OF STRENGTH IN NORTH-SOUTH RELA-
TIONS AND SEEK TO BUILD A TRUE WORLD COMMUNITY.

44. WE MUST DO SO IN OUR OWN SELF INTEREST. AT THE
WORLD'S STRONGEST POWER, THE UNITED STATES COULD SURVIVE
AN ERA OF ECONOMIC WARFARE. BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
WOULD NOT BE TRUE TO THEMSELVES WERE THEY TO SEEK ONLY
THE HOLLOW VICTORY OF SURVIVAL AMIDST A WORLD OF
DEPRIVATION AND RESENTMENT. FOR WORLD PEACE, AS WELL AS

FOR MORAL PURPOSE, AMERICA WILL SEEK TO TURN THE GLOBE'S
ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE INTO THE BEGINNING OF A
COMMUNITY OF GLOBAL COOPERATION.

45. ISRAEL FACES SERIOUS ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES IN THE
YEARS AHEAD, PARTLY BECAUSE -- LET US FACE IT SQUARELY --

MOSES HAD SOME SHORTCOMINGS AS A PETROLEUM GEOLOGIST. IN
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PLACE OF NATURAL RESOURCES, ISRAEL'S ECONOMY MUST BE
DRIVEN BY CREATIVITY, HARD WORK AND DETERMINATION -- ASSETS
FORTUNATELY NOT IN SHORT SUPPLY IN THAT PRODUCTIVE LAND.
TO PROSPER ISRAEL MUST HAVE ACCESS TO WORLD MARKETS, AND
COUNTRIES AND COMPANIES THAT WISH TO TRADE WITH HER MUST
BE FREE TO DO SO.

46. THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO ASSISTING ISRAEL'S
ECONOMY OVERCOME WORLD RECESSION, HIGHER PETROLEUM PRICES
AND THE COSTS OF A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE. THE UNITED
STATES IS COMMITTED TO ENDING RESTRICTIONS ON ISRAEL'S
RIGHTS TO TRADE AND ON THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS TO TRADE WITH
ISRAEL -- EVENTUALLY AS A BY-PRODUCT OF PEACE IN THE
MIDDLE EAST, AND IN THE INTERIM BY WHATEVER POLICIES MAY
PROVE POSSIBLE.

47. ISRAEL TOO HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT IS READY TO MAKE
ITS OWN CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC
PROBLEMS WHICH FUEL THE NORTH-SOUTH CONTROVERSY. THE
IMAGINATION AND CREATIVITY WHICH THE PIONEERING SETTLERS
OF ISRAEL USED TO MAKE THE DESERT BLOOM HAVE OBVIOUS
POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND IT IS A

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TRIBUTE TO ISRAEL'S VISION AND GENEROSITY THAT IT HAS
OFFERED TO MAKE THE FRUITS OF ITS EXPERIENCE AVAILABLE
TO OTHER NATIONS. WE SUPPORT THOSE INITIATIVES ON THE PART
OF ISRAEL, AND WE WILL DO WHAT WE CAN TO ASSIST THEM.

48. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
ISRAEL IS UNIQUE IN THE HISTORY OF NATIONS. ON THE ONE
HAND IT IS BASED ON A PROFOUND MORAL AND EMOTIONAL
COMMITMENT; ON THE OTHER HAND IT IS STRENGTHENED BY A
SUBSTANTIAL AREA OF COMMON INTEREST. AS AMERICA MAKES
PROGRESS TOWARD ITS BROADER OBJECTIVES IN THE WORLD, ISRAEL
BENEFITS. AND AS WE FAIL TO MAKE PROGRESS -- AS DOMESTIC
DIVISION AND DEBATE OVER THE PROPER ROLE OF THE UNITED
STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS SAP OUR STRENGTH -- ISRAEL AND HER
INTERESTS WILL SUFFER.

49. SO LET US UNDERSTAND CLEARLY THE TRUE NATURE AND DEPTH
OF THE RELATIONSHIP. LET US UNDERSTAND THAT -- PERHAPS
AS NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD -- THE UNITED STATES AND
ISRAEL SHARE BOTH MORAL PURPOSE AND PRACTICAL INTEREST.
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS OUR COMMON DREAM; THE ROAD
TOWARD THAT DREAM IS ONE WE MUST TRAVERSE TOGETHER OR WE
CANNOT TRAVEL IT AT ALL.
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50. WE HAVE ALREADY COME SO FAR AND ACHIEVED SO MUCH
THAT WE DARE NOT -- WE CANNOT -- TURN BACK. AND IF WE

PERSEVERE WE SURELY SHALL REACH THE TIME WHEN ALL THE

PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST CAN ORDER THEIR LIVES IN

ACCORDANCE WITH THE WORDS OF GENESIS: "LET THERE BE NO

STRIFE, I PRAY THEE, BETWEEN ME AND THEE -- FOR WE ARE

BRETHREN." END TEXT SISCO

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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